Where The Poverty Program Fails, Pps. 2-3

Nowadays The State Dept. Can't Be Too Careful How It Defines "Aggression"

Mr. David E. BELL (Administrator of AID): In the case of Egypt it is not our intention by economic or military aid to support a military force for aggressive purposes.

Mr. Otto E. PASSMAN (D. La.): Have they ever used their military forces for aggressive purposes?

Mr. BELL: It depends how you describe their action in Yemen.

Mr. PASSMAN: How do you describe it?

Mr. BELL: The way I believe the Secretary of State would describe it is a situation where the Egyptians sent forces in support of one side in an internal dispute.

Mr. PASSMAN: Are we playing with a coin with a head on each side?

Mr. BELL: No. I am careful about the use of the word "aggression" because the U.S. has put troops in a country in support of one side in an internal dispute and we do not consider that aggression."

—House App. Com. Hearings on 1966 foreign aid, p. 610.

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Will We Do in Vietnam What The Nazis Did in Holland?

Comedy and tragedy rub shoulders as the Vietnamese war widens. In the wake of the second of those B-52 sledge-hammer-against-flea raids by the Strategic Air Command, 2500 troops invade the Zone D jungle 30 miles north of Saigon but find no trace of the elusive enemy. The AP's first complete report derisively notes the haul at the end of this costly operation; since this seemed to disappear from the morning papers next day, we give it here from the *Washington Evening Star* (July 6): "Three stacks of love letters, tied in a yellow ribbon from a girl to a Viet Cong soldier; 7 Japanese water canteens of World War II design; a Viet Cong illustrated magazine; one French artillery shell made in 1932." A few more raids of this kind and our side can establish a Flea Market in Saigon.

Our Own Little Fuehrer

In London, the *Daily Mirror's* Saigon correspondent reports an interview (July 4) in which our new strong man, the playboy Air Force General Ky, now head of the South Vietnamese government, was asked who his heroes were. "I have only one," he replied, "Hitler." This charming interview makes it easier to understand why one of Ky's first acts was to suspend virtually the entire press of his country, an order hastily rescinded when the effect was to boost the circulation of the Viet Cong's underground paper in Saigon (*Washington Star*, July 3). Such are the antics of the Free World's newest Chief of State.

Two days after the London *Mirror* interview was published Gen. Ky announced a *"bac tien"* (march north) movement to "liberate" North Vietnam (*Washington Post* July 7). Though this was frowned upon by the U.S. Embassy, we have extended our own "liberation" campaign. When we hit Nam Dinh July 2, our bombings of the North reached a new stage. The attack on Nam Dinh 40 miles southeast of Hanoi was the first on an industrial city in the Hanoi-Haiphong area, the heart of North Vietnamese population and industry. Nam Dinh is a center of light industries, principally textiles. Our objective was the oil storage tanks in the city. "Smoke rose 3,000 meters and was visible 300 kilometers away," *Le Monde* reported (July 4-5), adding "No information was given on losses inflicted upon the population, but it would be astonishing if only oil was burned up." Two military missions were flown the same day, it was announced in Saigon, "against military bases at Dienbienphu" (*New York Times*, July 3). Dienbienphu, according to a story in *Paris Match* last November 15 by the first French journalists allowed to visit the place in ten years, is now a model farm. A leaflet dropped on North Vietnam the same day boasted endearingly that 2,788 aircraft had dropped bombs in 89 strikes from February 7 until April 30 and that "violent attacks" would be continued until "Hanoi and the Chinese Communists stop their invasion of South Vietnam." When the spokesman was asked about this he said he did not believe the Chinese had invaded but the language had been chosen "for its propaganda value" (*N.Y. Times*, July 3). How much propaganda value is there in falsehoods so

(*Continued on Page Four*)

Somebody's Not Telling The Truth

"He (McNamara) focussed immediately on the Korean episode, asserting with confidence that any analogy to the situation in Vietnam is 'false in logic although significant in psychology.' As to a land war—involving the commitment of larger units than we have yet employed, and the engagement of Communist regulars—he appreciated the dangers, but 'we are not moving in that direction.'"

—From "Decision in Vietnam: How Johnson Makes Foreign Policy," New York Times Magazine, July 4, by Henry F. Graff, Professor of History at Columbia, a highly advertised article which turned out to be a public relations "snow job" for the Administration.

"A vast construction and supply program is under way in South Vietnam to provide logistical support for American reinforcements that are due to arrive in the coming weeks. New airfields, new port facilities . . . military barracks and hospitals . . . there is talk of a force of 250,000 Americans . . . many American officers are convinced that a 'Korea-type' war is in the making. They ask privately whether some sort of 'semi-mobilization' should not be ordered in the United States. . . . Perhaps an even greater indication of the increased U.S. commitment . . . is the arrival of an Army Graves Registration unit."

—Jack Raymond from Saigon in N.Y. Times same day

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Chief Architect of Harlem's Mobilization for Youth Tells House Committee . . .

by Prof. Richard A. Cloward *

To convert the [anti-poverty] program from a strategy to aid casualties to a campaign against basic economic inequalities will require a good deal of political pressure from low-income groups. Among the first-aid programs to be established across the country, for example, not the least is a plan to provide out-of-school, unemployed youth with subsidized work, especially in the ghettoes where last summer's riots broke out. It is all very well to provide subsidized work to unemployed youth, but where will they work once the brief period of subsidization is over? Since the anti-poverty program does not deal with basic economic problems, such as the lack of full employment or low minimum wages, it cannot be expected to shut off the flow of future casualties.

Jobs Not Welfare

Or take the programs being established in some cities to deal with the current crisis over welfare costs. Some municipalities are proposing to train welfare mothers to become dietary aides and nurse's aides, thereby enabling them to leave the welfare rolls. This may be an advance over their previous status, but it must also be said that such measures reinforce the female as the breadwinner in an already entrenched female-headed household. Men for whom there are no jobs will nevertheless mate like other men, but they are not so likely to marry. Ours is a society which has preferred to deal with the resulting female-headed families, not by putting men to work, but by placing unwed mothers and dependent children on public welfare—substituting check-writing machines for male wage-earners. By this means, we have robbed men of manhood, women of husbands and children of fathers.

A guaranteed annual wage would eliminate poverty; even a system of children's allowances would raise whole groups from poverty. But if we fail to make a broad spectrum of institutional changes, new casualties will steadily fill the vacuum left by individuals who are helped by the anti-poverty program. At present, political pressure for basic economic change does not appear to exist in American society. The broad consensus favoring the anti-poverty program is hardly proof of a national determination to wipe out economic deprivation. It is true that a consensus exists, including business and labor, Republicans and Democrats, rich and poor. The very breadth of this consensus, however, merely lays bare the fact that no vital institutional interests are threatened.

If the political preconditions for major economic changes do not now exist, the anti-poverty program can have a role in helping to bring them about, precisely because of its mandate to involve the poor. During recent hearings in the House Committee on Education and Labor, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell castigated one city after another—chiefly Chicago, Washington, Cleveland and New York—for failing to seat poor people on the top municipal anti-poverty councils, where policy will be formulated and funds allocated for programs. Representation on top policy-making bodies may confer a little prestige on the poor persons who participate, but it will do little more where they are outnumbered by other individuals representing powerful organizational interests.

The possibility that the anti-poverty program can make a contribution to the growth of low-income power lies in delivering to the poor and their leaders the responsibility for controlling the funds and programs to be funnelled into their slums and ghetto communities. In the coming years, billions

*** Testimony before Senate Subcommittee on Poverty, June 29. (abr.) Cloward is Professor of Social Work at Columbia and chief architect of Harlem's Mobilization for Youth.**

War On Poverty's Bitter 1st Birthday

The war against poverty's first fiscal year has ended in a torrent of bitter criticism from minority groups protesting racism in the administration of the program. At the NAACP's convention in Denver, the director for labor affairs, Herbert Hill, called the program "merely an extension of white welfare paternalism." He said the program lacked any serious plan to deal with Negro unemployment even though the unemployment rate was 124% higher for non-whites than for whites. In 1947, the nonwhite unemployment rate had been only 64% higher. Hill's criticism was seconded a day later before the Senate Subcommittee on Poverty by Reverend R. A. Hawkins, a Negro civil rights leader from North Carolina. Hawkins reported almost total disillusionment with the program among Southern Negroes. "They see the same people in leadership roles from the same old social departments and agencies that have kept them poor and dependent in the past," he said.

This Retired Texas Marine Corps General Seems to Be Offering LBJ Some Good Advice

"The current operations in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic recall previous Marine experience in the field of guerrilla warfare. . . . Cumulative experience in 'banana wars' reached its peak in the five-year struggle against Sandino in Nicaragua—a region strikingly similar to Vietnam. . . . After some preliminary skirmishing in the spring of 1926 between the Conservative forces, the Nicaraguan civil war erupted on a country-wide scale during August.

"In accordance with the then well-established formula, the U.S. intervened. Marines . . . landed to enforce a neutral zone . . . ostensibly for the protection of American lives and property. . . . After voluble but futile protest against the 'un-neutral' action of U.S. forces, Gen. Moncado marched westward toward the coffee fincas. . . .

"The U. S. Government, defending its action as a necessary part of the Monroe Doctrine, was faced with considerable political opposition at home and abroad. Strictly military considerations were secondary to political expediency—a situation which appears to prevail in Vietnam . . . the brigade deployed to outlying districts for the task of policing the country prior to the 1928 elections. . . .

"The result of what was likely the first honest election in the history of the republic was a sweeping Liberal victory, in which General Moncado [against whom we had intervened] was elected President. . . . The U.S. government might have preferred a different outcome, but in the event made no effort to interfere. . . . This strictly neutral attitude helped to reconcile the Nicaraguan citizenry to the Marine occupation, and facilitated subsequent military operations. There appears to be a lesson to guide possible future intervention in the domestic politics of occupied countries. If we must intervene, favor the side of the electoral majority."

—Gen. Megee (U.S. Marines, ret.) of Austin Texas, writing in the June, 1965 issue of the Marine Corps Gazette.

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. . . Anti-Poverty Program Fails to Deal With Problems of Race and Economy

of dollars are to be made available for programs in depressed neighborhoods. To manage these programs, huge social welfare organizations will have to be created, or existing ones vastly expanded. Thousands of jobs will be created; the new workers hired to fill them will owe their allegiance to those who own the organizations. Through services that will reach thousands, broad constituencies of low-income persons will develop. The organizations to be created or expanded will constitute a new and potentially important source of power.

How City Hall Controls the Slums

Who will derive that power? The poverty structures being projected in New York and Chicago are key examples of efforts by governmental officials to dominate the forthcoming programs. Under conditions of great secrecy, both cities put forward plans some months ago calling for the establishment in designated slum neighborhoods of decentralized, multifunction public agencies. Most of the municipal antipoverty programs are to be operated from these centers. In both cities, these projected centers are to be responsible to a city-wide corporation dominated by public officials or persons directly appointed by public officials.

What community groups are beginning to understand is that their stake in the present controversy is the right to mount autonomous, self-directed anti-poverty programs in their own slums and ghettoes. In New York, as a consequence, organizations have slowly been developing: Central Harlem's HARYOUACT, East Harlem's MEND, Bedford Stuyvesant's Youth in Action, South Bronx's SEBU, and the new city-wide organs of the Puerto Rican community. If these local community-action groups could be depended upon merely to carry out politically neutral social-service programs for the casualties in their midst, the current dispute would generate somewhat less heat. But the trend toward neighborhood control is also coupled with the idea of organizing poor people to work for social change, and that is a major threat.

The fact is, however, that today's slum and ghetto lack a radical tradition of any kind. The emerging controversy over the involvement of the poor has its roots in relatively moderate ideologies—self-help, local autonomy, democratic moderate action, and the importance of ethnic separatism. The struggle, in short, is in the tradition of urban politics, and nothing more. It may be asking too much of established power groups to recognize the value of this development, but it must be said, in any case, that they are not being confronted with anything resembling a revolutionary movement.

[There are] those who are troubled by the thought of creating "separatist" programs under the aegis of the war against poverty. The logic of this position is that community problems are common ones and can best be solved through cooperation and communication. All things considered, however, it is rather difficult to see how the interests of the Puerto Rican slum tenant dweller are congruent with those of the Jewish landlord or those of the unregistered Negro with those of the Italian political-machine leader. Strategies of conciliation and coalition will not bring the poor into the mainstream. For within coalitions of unequals, it is not typically the case that the least equal have much success in advancing their interests. Judging from the history of ethnic groups struggling to gain a foothold in our pluralistic society, it seems clear that minority groups will win acceptance by the majority only through developing their own bases of power, not by submerging their unorganized numbers in coalitions dominated by others.

Housing Bill 20 Years Behind Need

"We face a critical housing shortage. Congress passed the Housing Act of 1949, which was intended to guarantee a decent home and living environment to every American. But we have failed to admit and act upon the fact that the housing problem is one of severe shortage. Current data indicate that housing starts are running at 1.5 million annually. This is far too few. Even the most conservative estimates indicate that at least 1.7 million units are needed in 1965. Some sources estimate a need of 2 million units in 1965 and an average of 2.2 million by 1970. [The Housing Act of 1965] proposes 60,000 units per year for the next 4 years, but only 35,000 of these [per year] would be new units. New York City alone could use the entire authorization for public housing. This bill is just about 20 years behind the needs of the American people."

—Rep. Ryan (D., N.Y.), *in the House, June 29 (abr.)*

Senate Declines to Stop Drug Company Profiteering on Publicly Financed Patents

Not since the days of Estes Kefauver has a U.S. Senator dared to attack the nation's drug industry as did Russell Long (D., La.), in debate June 25th and 28th over a public health bill. Long was battling for an amendment to prohibit the drug companies from acquiring patents, i.e., monopoly rights, on drugs that are discovered and developed solely with public funds. The Senate voted him down 55 to 36, but the result might have been reversed if supposedly liberal Senators like Fulbright, McCarthy, Bayh, Javits and the Kennedy brothers had not sided with the industry.

Long hit the industry hardest with a comparison of what U.S. drugs might sell for under competitive conditions with what they now sell for under U.S. patent monopolies. This comparison is hard to come by because drug companies don't reveal their costs of production, but Long achieved a close approximation by calculating from bulk drug prices in Europe. He found that the ingredients for 100 tablets of Orinase, an important insulin substitute used by diabetics, sell in Europe for only 18c. Here Upjohn sells these 100 tablets wholesale for $7.70. The price to the consumer is $14. "Over a period of 10 years," Long said, "the difference in cost to a diabetic might be the difference between $1,600 and $48." Similarly, the ingredients for 100 tablets of the widely used antibacterial drug Furantin in Europe cost only 19c. Norwich sells these 100 tablets to druggists here for $29 and they in turn sell them to the public for $48.34. Long analyzed prices for some 15 drugs and concluded that without patent protection they could sell about 30 times cheaper.

Long also made public the first evidence of collaboration between government laboratory research workers and the big drug companies. He told how in one case three employees at the National Heart Institute discovered a new anti-hypertensive, filed for a patent on it with the help of Merck & Co., and failed to tell the U.S. Surgeon General about the discovery until it was too late for the government to exercise its option on the lucrative foreign licensing rights. These rights will now go to Merck.

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Bombing North Vietnam's Dikes Would Drown and Starve Its People

(*Continued from Page One*)

blatant even we aren't gullible enough to believe them?

How Dare They Defend Themselves

The public is being prepared for the bombing of the Hanoi-Haiphong industrial complex. An AP dispatch from Vienna (*Le Monde,* July 4-5) quotes an Albanian labor union official just back from Hanoi who declared with an almost audible sneer that all the Russians had sent there were "some medicines, two hundred bicycles and five accordions." But our military through Hanson Baldwin (*New York Times,* July 4) leak intelligence reports of "huge crates" being unloaded from Communist-flag ships at Haiphong with "what are believed to be weapon, ammunition and military supplies" which "may have" included latest model Migs. "Unconfirmed reports" (they have to be pretty "unconfirmed" to rank as such with military intelligence) even say the North Vietnamese "now have, or will eventually be provided with, ground-to-ground ballistic missiles with a range in excess of 1,000 miles". This triggered a flood of similar stories and a State Department statement July 6 estimating that there soon would be four SAM (surface-to-air missile) sites, each with six missiles, outside Hanoi. On July 7, as we write, House Republican Leader Gerald Ford has just issued a statement calling for air strikes "before the enemy uses the weapons against the side of freedom." Even slant-wise, these missiles cannot shoot further than 40 miles. They are purely defensive, but can shoot down even U2s at altitudes of at least 80,000 feet. In the Cuban crisis we at least had the excuse that IRBMs placed in Cuba could reach much of the U.S. mainland. Here all the SAMs can do is reach our attacking planes.

There may be worse in the offing: bombing of the North Vietnamese dikes. These support the irrigation works of the Red River delta. Bombing the dikes has been discussed several times in the French press but has been blacked out of the American. In its July 4-5 issue *Le Monde* speculates whether the dikes will be our next target. In its July 6 issue it carries an article by the famous agricultural expert, René Dumont, describing the enormous effort put into the irrigation system to meet the needs of overpopulated North Vietnam. The most tempting moment for our military, especially if they meet serious defeats in the South during the summer, will come at the end of the rainy season in August, when the waters are at their height. Blowing up the great dikes to the North of Hanoi would be comparable to an H-bomb in its effect, flooding the entire delta region, wiping out the summer rice crop and drowning from two to three million people. North Vietnam could survive the loss of the industries it has built up since 1954 but to bomb the dikes would mean starvation. Destruction of dikes was one of the war crimes for which Seyss-Inquart, chief of the Nazi occupation in Holland, was hanged at Nuremberg. The Hague Convention years before had made such action a violation of international law but Goering pleaded at the trial, "In a life and death struggle there is no legality." Has this become our viewpoint, too, even though Vietnam is hardly a life and death matter for us? The bombardment of the dikes would be genocide.

Shastri Doesn't Feel Like A Domino

Mr. COLLINGWOOD (CBS News): If South Vietnam, for instance, fell into the Communist camp, you do not think that that would increase the threat to India and the countries of Southeast Asia?

Prime Minister SHASTRI of India: I do not think so, because there are other Asian countries which of course— they are not Communist as such, but they are progressive and radical in their outlook and approach. I should not think that once Vietnam is given freedom to live as they like, they would come under the clutches of the Chinese. . . .

Mr. KALB (CBS News): Yes—but wouldn't the victory of communism in South Vietnam, a communism that has been nourished and supported by both North Vietnam and Communist China, certainly whet the appetites of Communists throughout Asia?

Prime Minister SHASTRI: Well, the Soviet Union, they are also communists. And yet they believe in peaceful co-existence. . . . Similarly, I think Vietnam may also adopt the same policy.

—Face the Nation, June 27.

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